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ABSTRACT

The railroad and newspaper industries grew up simultaneously during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, coming together in the common effort of delivering newspapers by rapid trains. The newspaper trade literature from that era contains romantic accounts of the exploits of these trains, while comparable railroad trade literature infrequently acknowledges that newspaper publishers did indeed require special (unscheduled) high-speed trains to deliver their papers. The trains, chartered cheaply because of the fierce rivalry among railroads, extended the reach of many papers, especially morning dailies; and they heightened intercity competition, particularly for the smaller dailies. It seems possible that newspaper trains delivering big city morning dailies led to the proliferation of evening papers in outlying towns and small cities. The extent of the close working relationship between newspapers and railroads raises questions about newspaper objectivity. The fast-train experience also accents modern questions about societal effects, because modern newspapers are in the midst of a new expansion--this time electronic--of their potential distribution area. (Author/RL)

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# NEWSPAPER TRAINS--AMERICA'S FIRST FLING AT HIGH-SPEED TRANSMISSION OF THE PRINTED WORD

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NEWSPAPER TRAINS--AMERICA'S FIRST FLING AT HIGH-SPEED TRANSMISSION OF THE PRINTED WORD

*". . . what pictures of future rapid transit, for the sake of transmitting newspapers, may not in reason be conjured up . . . in the light of that sound reason which permits a judgement of the future by the present and the past."* Printer's Circular, June, 1875.

When that early-day trade journal of journalists speculated, over 100 years ago, on what might be the next result of "the fast newspaper train infection,"[1] its editor had no way of knowing that the newspaper's advances in the technology of distribution would level off within a generation, and that many urban newspapers would eventually retrench and shorten their outreach "to cut costs and preserve a homogeneous territory."[2] Little would he expect that a century later, newspaper distribution would be viewed as one of the most backward and anachronistic technologies in the industry. Since the 1870s the Linotype has come and gone, front end systems have replaced composing rooms, computers have taken over traffic and billing, and stereotyping has been replaced with thin plastic or hardmetal plates. But most newsdealers and carriers are still operating much the same way they did a century ago.[3]

Now that the technology is at hand for a new revolution in newspaper distribution,[4] it seems a good time to look back to that time when the "fast train infection" impacted the industry. What stresses does a new delivery system put on a mass medium? How does it shift the demographics of a medium's audience? How does it change newspapering as a marketing system?

Those are the big questions. To take a first step in their direction, the purpose of this paper is to chronicle and describe the establishment of the fast train system, and particularly to learn more about an intriguing and almost-forgotten phenomenon, the newspaper train.

The fast train technology had its romantic appeal, easily as fascinating to our forebears as electronic gadgetry is to us today. It represented progress, human achievement, the potential for wealth and comfort. Perhaps one rather lengthy 1887 description, in a characteristic mix of Victorian expression and bright New York Sun style, will best set the stage:

> Engineer Elias Wright sprang to his place, which was apparently astraddle of the butt end of the big boiler, and with a great burst of relief the engine reached out its great steel arms and gave a pull at the driving wheels, which sent it forth with a leap upon its long journey.
>
> Back in the swaying car the work of the night had just begun. Jumbled all together in an apparently hopeless tangle were bundles of Heralds and Suns, of all shapes and dimensions, all bound for different places, and all to be sorted and made ready by the time those places were reached . . . at last the workers stood at rest surveying a swaying, uncertain floor strewn with mounds of all sizes and forms, and all manifesting a disposition to mingle into a common plain, which it required constant attention to correct.
>
> The Herald-Sun Special had started at 2.30--on time to a minute. If lumbering freight trains would only keep out of the way there would not be a stop made until Philadelphia was reached, a run of ninety-one miles to be made in one hour and 52 minutes. The other stations were to be bombarded with Heralds and Suns as the train darted by them. Mile after mile was swiftly reeled off, and not once had the gait been slackened which the engine had struck when the Jersey City lights were left behind.

Minutes were lost when a red lantern indicated a ponderous freight that had to be given time to get out of the way, but Engine No. 1066 quickly resumed its pace:

> The signal flashed clear white at last, and away the Heralds and Suns flew to catch those lost nine minutes. From New Brunswick to Trenton nearly every minute meant more than a mile travelled, and there were 27 miles to be covered in the stretch. Trenton swept by at last and three of the minutes had been overtaken and the other six were hard pressed. . . .

> The sliding door of the car was pulled wide open, and a wild rush of the night air swept in. Two great bundles were pulled close to it, and an alert young man, with a hand on each, stood looking watchfully out as though he were about to leap into the darkness on a desperate venture and take his chances. He didn't go, but the two bundles did. Like a flash they suddenly shot out into the air, and went tumbling and rolling over each other on a station platform. A dim form was seen for an instant chasing madly after them and then the train was roaring through the open fields once more. Frankford had the Herald and The Sun with its morning coffee.

The scenario was replayed several times before No. 1066 made its first stop in Philadelphia at 4:25. A fresh engine took over as wagons trundled off into the darkness with their loads of newspapers. The new engine sprinted non-stop to Baltimore, arriving four minutes early at 6:53, where

> . . . the scenes of Philadelphia were reproduced. The Baltimore News Company, Schaffer and Herold of Barnum's Hotel, Romus of the Eutaw House, George Faltz and Dalrymple, "the great Dalrymple" of the Carrollton, caught their bundles on the fly, and the Herald and the Sun were on the Baltimore breakfast tables, while the news train was scampering off in the faint light of the morning for Washington, where it arrived at 8 o'clock--on time to a minute--and the Capital City was soon sprinkled with copies of the two great New York dailies as with a fall of snowflakes.[5]

This passage exhibits the same sort of excited prose that journalists of this era regularly applied to their own industrial enterprises. Just substitute the cylinders and webs of a rotary press for the pistons and drive wheels of Engine No. 1066, and leave the modifiers in place. For the two industries had grown up together, emerging from infancy in the 1830s and hitting their spurt through adolescence (with the concomitant growing pains) during the period at hand--the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.[6] The newspaper train thus symbolizes the merging of the two industries' prolific energies into one common effort.

The role of the railroads in newspaper expansion is of a different quality from the role of newspapers in railroad expansion. In the latter case the

greatest benefits were indirect--not from the meager revenues the railroads collected for carrying newspapers,[7] but rather from the improved investor interest and political climate so important to uninhibited growth. The railroads played a more direct role in the growth of newspapers, however, as they were often called upon to deliver a major proportion of the product to its consumers. In St. Louis, for example, 50 per cent of the Globe-Democrat's daily circulation of 68,376 (in the mid-1890s) was delivered in the city, the rest mostly by train--5,000 through the mails and the remainder to "news dealers throughout the territory in which we circulate." The Republic's circulation was larger outside the city than inside it, utilizing 2500 out-of-town news dealers. The afternoon St. Louis dailies, on the other hand, had a much higher in-city percentage of circulation.[8]

Recognition that the business of transporting newspapers was more important to the newspaper industry than to the railroad industry raises a disquieting question: Is it possible that the so-called newspaper train was a literary creation of the journalists themselves, which had no recognition in the railroad industry?

In order to address this question, a search was conducted in the trade literature of that era, in both industries--newspaper and railroad--to learn what the standard practices were in railroad delivery of newspapers in America in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. Trade journals for newspapermen were reviewed as available at the Library of Congress,[9] and the central journals for railroaders, Railway Age and Railroad Gazette, were read at the library of the American Association of Railroads in Washington, D. C. In addition, manuals and other instructional writings for practitioners in both industries were surveyed, and dozens of histories of individual railroads and newspapers were checked for references to railroad delivery,

in the libraries of the University of Utah and The University of Tennessee.

The use of trains to deliver newspapers in America dates from the 1830s, when Charleston papers were delivered the same day to Hamburg, S. C., on the Savannah River 136 miles away.[10] Railroad trackage doubled every demidecade until the Civil War, and by the time hostilities ended a 35,000-mile network lay ready for newspaper circulators' use. Newspapers were already being widely circulated outside the mails by then, enough that postal rates seemed to be set in reaction to competition from the express companies, which had been born in the same cradle with the railroads. Express companies grew apace with the newspaper and railroad industries, and by the 1890s negotiators from the new American Newspaper Publishers' Association were meeting negotiators from a committee of express company presidents to set express rates nationwide.[11]

Metropolitan publishers found rather early that the existing train schedules were inadequate to give their newspapers the rapid distribution they wanted, and they apparently took remedial steps. Said the Printer's Circular in mid-1875:

> Within 24 months, certain restless and enterprising publishers conceived the idea of making the quickest possible railroad time between the two great centres of population in the Union--New York and Philadelphia. Rapid trips, locomotives urged to the top of their speed--with few cars behind them, and these crammed with printed sheets damp from the presses, and a small band of daring travelers--were sent flying across New Jersey early every morning. They are whizzing and whirling still--the lightning trains.[12]

The unnamed correspondent asks, "What will the great publishers do next?"--but does not specifically say the trains were chartered. The earliest specific instance of use of a daily train chartered primarily to deliver newspapers was noted in a history of Texas railroads, which made the questionable assertion that the country's first such train was one begun in 1877 to

rush the Galveston Daily News to Houston, where it arrived at 4 a.m. for city distribution and to make connections with other railroads laid trellis-like up into Texas.[13]

Incidentally, the special Galveston-Houston train did not satisfy the publisher's desire to cover Texas, and he soon found a better solution, establishing a sister paper so that north Texans could receive the Galveston News' contents by wire rather than by rail. That is how A. H. Belo started one of the country's earliest newspaper chains by founding the Dallas Morning News.[14]

The Texans both noted that claims that the first chartered newspaper trains operated from Boston should be disallowed, as these trains were used for Sunday papers only.[15]

By 1881 the Philadelphia-based Printer's Circular was praising the Pennsylvania Railroad for putting on an early morning fast train, "by means of which the morning newspapers of this city are delivered to . . . populous towns and cities," and acclaiming the Pennsy as "a liberal and progressive corporation, to which Philadelphia and the State owe a great deal." Nor did the little trade journal lack the Sun's florid style:

> The daily lightning newspaper train leaves the depot in Philadelphia at half-past four o'clock in the morning--pitch dark for hours after that, in the Fall and Winter mornings. Through the dense darkness thunders the flying train, as swiftly as though the noonday sun were shining overhead. One of the most experienced baggage masters on the road performs the delicate duty of discerning the principal stations through the gloom, and, as the swift going train shoots by them, throws out the bundles of newspapers intended for that particular station. There are thirty-nine post office stations between Philadelphia and Harrisburg, and at each one of them one or more--mostly more--bundles of newspapers are delivered as the train flies along. Several tons of Philadelphia morning dailies are distributed in this manner. . . .
>
> At half-past seven o'clock the fast newspaper train arrives at Harrisburg, where it has, thus far, been always welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd, anxious for the Philadelphia morning papers.[16]

But the competition seems most spirited out of New York, where, "The contest for the first place among the newspapers is now at a white heat." The New York based Journalist (in 1885) continues:

> The special train business has become quite a feature in the metropolitan newspaper world. The World's special train makes the run from New York to Boston in less than five hours, beating the Herald in the latter city about an hour.[17]

Within a year the New York papers had extended their reach considerably, with a remarkable run leaving Manhattan at 3:03 a.m. on Sunday, May 16, 1886, and reaching Albany (149½ miles) at 6:06, Syracuse (another 147½ miles) at 9:22, and Buffalo at 12:30. The "special lightning train" was

> made up of an antiquated day coach, looking very rusty, and a baggage car, the latter being packed to the roof with ponderous piles of papers, while nearly all of the seats had been removed from the former in order that tables might be set up on which to count off, fold and make up the packages to be dropped at the various stations along the route.[18]

The ride was said to have "afforded the journalists on board quite a new and thrilling experience."[19]

But the six-hour run to Syracuse would soon be bettered. By 1895 the New York Times was on the streets at Syracuse at 8:13 a.m., and the World at 8:44, each by way of its own special train. The 148-mile Albany-Syracuse leg was made in 134½ minutes.[20]

By this time the use of special newspaper trains was widespread. All five morning Chicago dailies were jointly operating special trains for out-of-town delivery.[21] When the renegade Chicago Times was expelled by the others from their fast Sunday Special to Milwaukee, the Times simply leased an earlier train on another road.[22]

A newspaper train from Philadelphia made a run from Camden, N. J., to Atlantic City in less than 46 minutes, averaging a speed of 76½ m.p.h. A New York World Special ran the 291 miles to Syracuse in 292 minutes. A

Detroit newspaper train, departing 2 a.m., was in Michigan City at 7:30. And in Anaconda, Mont., the Standard boasted that it was the only paper west of the Missouri River with a special train of its own, making a daily 30-mile run.[23]

This might be the period of the railroad industry's greatest expansion, but it was not fast enough for the newspaper publishers. Gen. Chas. H. Taylor of the Boston Globe wrote in 1895,

> Where 25 years ago there was one train leaving any of our great centers of population, there now are a dozen trains to speed each edition of the newspaper hot from the press to the remotest hamlet of the contributary territory. But even yet there are not trains enough, and the more prosperous newspapers find it necessary to charter specials of their own . . .[24]

Taylor's reference to the chartering of specials raises an interesting point. Can it be assumed that all these mentions of "special trains" represent trains paid for by the newspapers? In the railroaders' literature, the "special train" was defined as "a train provided for a special purpose and not named in the schedule."[25] The use of special trains seemed especially common during the early morning hours, when passengers were scarce but morning dailies poured from the presses.[26]

At only one point did the railroad trade literature yield a specific reference to a "newspaper train." This was in a table listing five recent fast runs, giving specifics on each run. The newspaper train was the shortest and lightest of the five trains giving notable speed performances. It made the run from New York to Buffalo in nine and a half hours (that was in 1886), carried two cars, and had a gross weight of 250,000 lbs.[27] That same year, another Railroad Gazette brief noted a fast run by a train designated "an Inter-Ocean special train," its special purpose apparently being to transport that particular newspaper.[28]

That the chartering of these trains was within economic reach of newspaper publishers seems likely. A St. Louis correspondent says that Col. Houser of the Globe-Democrat ran a special train to Du Quoin, Ill., at a cost of $54 a Sunday, apparently to gain wide distribution by tying into the Illinois Central System. This was continued until the Baltimore and Ohio put in a fast eastbound mail train out of St. Louis. The Globe-Democrat was also party to a daily special, sharing the cost of $32 a day with the Republic to charter a train over the Keokuk and Northwestern for two years, until the Burlington put on a fast mail train heading in that direction.[29]

It is not easy, in the inflation-ridden 1980s, to imagine how cheaply a train could be run in those days. In 1905, after prices had begun to rise a bit from the low-priced 1890s, the cost of running a locomotive over the Southern, including fuel, water, repair, and wages of the engineer, fireman and roundhouse man, averaged 24.44 cents a mile. This crept up to 26 cents in 1906, 28 cents in 1907 and 29 cents in 1908.[30]

Railroad rates were not known for their stability during this period, anyway. Freight rates in 1873 had averaged 1.985 cents a ton mile on the "great trunk lines," but by 1893 had dropped to .8 cents a mile, a 60 per cent reduction. (In Europe the rate was two and a half times as high.)[31] Rate wars in America had been so ruinous in the 1870s that cattle were shipped from Chicago to New York at the rate of one dollar a carload.[32]

Rates for transporting newspaper bundles during this period apparently fluctuated in the range from 25 cents to a dollar per hundredweight.[33] It probably didn't cost much more to charter a train than to pay the pound rate. Besides, the railroads were eager to accommodate their close friends the newspapers. They gave newspaperman passes by the thousands,[34] and would

not hesitate to offer chartered trains at less than cost if they believed it would serve their purposes.[35]

The use of special newspaper trains seems to have become less appealing to publishers since 1900, although some special trains have continued into modern times.[36] The implementation of the Interstate Commerce Act in 1887 stabilized rates and practices in the railroad industry, and the newspaper industry entered a settling-down period after its excesses in covering the Spanish-American War. Besides, the country's affinity for high speed trains had begun to weaken. In 1893 New York Central and Hudson trains made a five-mile run in three minutes--that's an even 100 m.p.h.--and clocked one mile in 32 seconds--112½ m.p.h.[37] But the casualty lists from train wrecks 1891 to 1895 averaged 6,000 killed and 35,000 injured per year.[38] Besides, the increased scheduling of fast mail trains (e.g., in St. Louis, as noted above) removed the need for many of the specials. In fact, Congressional opponents of the special appropriations for fast mail trains were charging that post office funds for these trains were benefiting only a handful of morning dailies in New York City. On one such group of trains, they charged, for every pouch of first-class mail sent by taxpayers there were ten pouches of daily papers bound from New York to New Haven, Philadelphia, Albany, and other points along the lines.[39]

In general, the newspaper train, which seems to have generated considerable interest in journalists' literature during the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s, did not fade from the picture because it was no longer needed. Rather, it was institutionalized, as the modernizing mail system gradually took over its function and reduced the demand for trains to be leased by publishers. In describing these new mail trains, journalists did not write with the tinseled prose they had lavished on the trains their own publishers had leased,

but they still found room for an occasional adjective: witness the Burlington, Iowa, editor who seemed alarmed at

> the extensive circulation in every hamlet and village in Iowa of the large and well-made Saturday editions sent out by the publishers of the Chicago dailies . . . Carloads of these Saturday and Sunday Chicago papers are distributed all over Iowa every week. Six great trunk lines cross the state from east to west, and every county seat in the state can be reached from Chicago before the damp printed sheets have time to dry out. These fast mail trains go flying over the Iowa prairies like huge projectiles fired from fabulous cannon.[40]

The effect of the fast distribution service, spearheaded by the special trains and continued by the fast mail trains, is clear in such passages. In Schenectady, the reaction was strong; the Chief of Police barred newsboys from selling all out-of-town newspapers, cutting the circulation of New York and Albany papers in that city by three-fourths.[41] A correspondent concerned about the health of the small town afternoon dailies observed that in Niagara County, besides its own six dailies, the Buffalo papers were on sale at 3 p.m., and the morning dailies from New York City arrived at 4:30.[42] In Albany the problem was serious, as a correspondent wrote The Journalist in New York that "All the morning papers have fallen off in their sales since your dailies reach here by seven o'clock, for we can purchase a Herald, Journal and Times for the price of one Argus."[43]

In the West, where trains were not so frequent, the city publishers did not always have their way. The editor of Newspaperdom deplored the situation in Omaha, where "the through trains leave at from 9.50 a.m. to 5.35 p.m., which is equivalent to saying that circulation of Omaha papers is substantially limited to the small area covered by local train service."[44] The publisher of the Kansas City World said he chose to go into the evening field, competing against the strong Kansas City Star, "because all the principal trains of distribution run out of Kansas City in the afternoon or evening."[45]

That the use of fast train service may have had some important effects on the newspaper industry during these decades seems clear. The data found in this study, and the method by which they were gathered, do not permit the delineation of any cause-effect relationships, but there is sufficient evidence to pose some questions for further and more sharply focused study:

1. One of the strongest suggestions to emerge is that newspaper trains played an important role in the proliferation of evening papers in the outlying towns and small cities. The small morning dailies, in most regions, seem to have faced much stiffer competition from the metropolitan papers brought in on the fast trains.

2. The trains certainly had a part in setting the outer boundaries of circulation for the statewide and regional dailies, boundaries which since those decades have remained fairly stable, or have retreated. Now that electronic delivery systems put us on the threshold of a new phase of boundary-extension, it is appropriate to ask, in the context of diffusion theory, for example, what social adjustments were made as these outlying communities of the Nineteenth Century were first brought into the increasingly heterogeneous audiences of the big media? As a local population finds itself drawn into the reach of a new media voice which is alien--i.e., not perceived as local or as a part of the community--what stresses are put on the audience-media relationship?

3. In view of the mutual interests of the two industries which were symbolized in the newspaper trains, and recognizing that one of American newspaperdom's darkest hours was that of its frequent and widespread subservience to the railroad industry at that time, what dangers do we need to guard against as journalists ally with new industries to deliver the news of the future? Is there any danger that the fourth estate may become

the unabashed booster for the electronic communications industry that it often was for the railroads?

Those are some of the appropriate questions, but there is one other which is most captivating of all: What was it like to go hurtling around blind curves in a rickety open-air baggage car, roaring through the darkness along thin, fragile rails at speeds up to 100 miles an hour, just to be there first with the news? It must have been one helluva trip.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Newspapers as Promoters of Rapid Transit," Printers' Circular, 10:4 (June 1875), p. 117.
2. Leo Bogart, "Urban Papers Under Pressure," Columbia Journalism Review, 13:3, pp. 36-43.
3. John Tebbel, "The Changing American Newsboy," Saturday Review, Feb. 13, 1971, pp. 56-58.
4. For a thoughtful and up-to-date analysis of these new technologies and their implications, see Carolyn Marvin, "Delivering the News of the Future," Journal of Communication, 30:1 (Winter 1980), pp. 10-20.
5. "Speeding the News South," from The New York Sun, quoted in The Journalist, 4:19 (Jan. 29, 1887), p. 11.
6. As one economic theoretician would put it, the two industries had experienced their Take-Off Period in the pre-Civil War decades, and were now in their Drive to Maturity. W. W. Rostow, The Stages of Economic Growth, London: Cambridge Press, 1960, pp. 4-12; see also Gerald D. Nash, ed., Issues in American Economic History, Boston: D. C. Heath, 1964.
7. Just after the turn of the Century the Southern reported revenue of $26,360 for carrying newspapers, less than 1/20 of one per cent of its income for that year. Annual Report of the Southern Railway Co. for the year ended June 30, 1906.
8. Charles Austin Bates, ed., American Journalism from the Practical Side, New York: Holmes Pub. Co., 1897, pp. 231-3, 239, 245-6; and "The Making of a Daily Paper," Newspaperdom, 4:33 (March 26, 1896), p. 4.

At about this time the Globe-Democrat was covering a huge portion of the Mississippi Valley, spending more on its stringers than national circulation leaders like the New York World, Chicago Tribune or Boston Herald. (Eugene M. Camp, "What's the News?", Century, 40:2 (June, 1890), pp. 260-262.)

9. These included the following, with occasional issues missing from most: Printer's Circular, Proof Sheet, The Quadrat, The Journalist, The Fourth Estate, Newspaper Maker, and Newspaperdom.

10. Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States, New York: Harper & Bros., 1873, quoting an 1834 statement by the road's directors. This one stretch represented more than a tenth of the track in the entire United States at that time. Hudson's thinly documented statement has been neither questioned nor confirmed by 20th Century historians Lee, Mott or Emery.

11. "Rates Reduced," The Newspaper Maker, 3:65 (June 11, 1896), pp. 1, 6.

12. "Newspapers as Promoters of Rapid Transit."

13. S. G. Reed, A History of the Texas Railroads, 2nd ed., Houston: St. Clair Pub. Co., 1941, p. 355. This reference was discovered at the University of Houston Library during a slow spell--yes, they do exist--at the AEJ Convention.

14. Sam Acheson, 35,000 Days in Texas, New York: Macmillan, 1938, pp. 94-99.

15. Reed, p. 356; Acheson, p. 94. The notion of Brahmins attempting to outbrag Texans defies the reach of a normal imagination.

16. "Fast Newspaper Trains," Printer's Circular, 16:9 (November 1881), pp. 1-2.

17. "Special Newspaper Trains," The Journalist, 2:22 (Aug. 22, 1885), p. 4.

18. "Rapid Newspaper Transit," The Journalist, 3:9 (May 22, 1886), pp. 3-4.

19. Ibid. Given the thin rails and creaky woodframe construction standard in the 1880s, this is probably a euphemism meaning they had the stuffing scared out of them.

20. "From New York to Syracuse," The Fourth Estate, 4:84 (Oct. 3, 1895), p. 5.

21. Willis J. Abbot, "Chicago Newspapers," Newspaperdom, 3:12 (June 1895), pp. 367-8.

22. "About the Newspaper War in Chicago," Newspaperdom, 3:3 (September 1894), p. 108.

23. "Fast Newspaper Train," The Fourth Estate, 3:64 (May 16, 1895), p. 3; The Fourth Estate, 4:96 (Dec. 26, 1895), p. 4; The Fourth Estate, 3:69 (June 20, 1895), p. 11; "A Special Train Service of Its Own," Newspaperdom, 4:6 (Sept. 19, 1895), p. 12.

24. In "American Newspapers," One Hundred Years of American Commerce, New York: D. O. Haynes & Co., 1895, pp. 170-71.

25. Marshall M. Kirkman, The Science of Railways, Vol. IV, "Train Service," New York: World Railway Pub. Co., 1898, p. 321. Kirkman says these were at one time called "wild" trains.

26. Emory R. Johnson and Grover G. Huebner, Railroad Traffic and Rates, 2nd ed., New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1911, p. 158.

27. "Fast Long Distance Runs," Railroad Gazette, 20:516 (Aug. 10, 1888).

28. "A Wonderful Run," Railroad Gazette, 20:721.

29. Bates, pp. 231-233.

30. Southern Railway Co., 12th, 13th and 14th Annual Reports.

31. Stuyvesant Fish, "American Railroads," in One Hundred Years of American Commerce, New York: D. O. Haynes & Co., 1895, p. 107. Fish was president of the Illinois Central.

32. Allen Nevins, "The Emergence of Modern America," Vol. 8 in The History of American Life, A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, eds., New York: Macmillan, 1927, p. 242.

33. Johnson and Huebner, p. 159; "Rates Reduced," p. 1

34. "Railroad Passes and Railroad Advertising," The Journalist, 2:10 (May 30, 1885), p. 2.

35. That definitive historian of newspaper economics, Alfred McClung Lee, says the Pennsy distributed Philadelphia newspapers free throughout the state in those days. The Daily Newspaper in America, New York: Macmillan, 1947, p. 307.

36. Meyer Berger, The Story of the New York Times, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1951, p. 564.

37. "Highest Speeds for Railroad Trains for Various Distances," Scientific American, 74:186 (quoting Safety Valve).

38. Ida Tarbell, The Nationalizing of Business, Vol. 9 in A History of American Life, Schlesinger and Fox., eds., pp. 106-7.

39. U. S. House of Representatives, Congressional Record, Feb. 26, 1883, pp. 3292-4.

40. "The Home of the Saturday Paper," Newspaperdom, 2:1 (April 1893), p. 3.

41. "Out-of-Town Papers Barred," Newspaper Maker, 3:59 (April 30, 1896), p. 7.

42. A. E. Hoyt, "Extending the Home News Service," Newspaperdom, 2:2 (May 1894), pp. 64-65.

43. The Journalist, 1:1 (March 22, 1884), p. 3.

44. "Newspapers and Railroads," editorial in Newspaperdom, 4:1 (August 15, 1895), p. 8.

45. Quoted in Bates, pp. 265-6.